UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes
Editor in Chief

Louis L. Mann
Curtis W. Reese
Associate Editors

The Burden of a Bishop

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Prophetic India

By DEVERE ALLEN

The Profit System and Unemployment

By NORMAN THOMAS

Thoughts of Tolstoy

PART XI

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Preferred Publicity

The following observations and suggestions are offered for the sympathetic consideration of any and all who are interested in the improvement of American life.

It is fairly evident that the American people are more dominated by publicity than are any other people in the world today.

The circulation of newspapers, magazines, and other forms of printed publicity is more general with us, and covers a wider area and a greater aggregation of people having a common language and a common culture, than is the case anywhere else on earth. Movie audiences are larger, and attendance upon the movie theatres more constant with us than with any other people. The radio has a popular acceptance with us, and the distribution of receiving sets is more general than in any other section of the world. The appeal of the churches to advertising prevails here as nowhere else. The bill-board is more in evdience on our highways than on roadways abroad. Every American politician who aspires to office is compelled to expenditures on behalf of publicity which expenditures are fast becoming a national scandal. High-pressure salesmanship, which is but another name for publicity at the nth degree, is distinctively an American development, and prevails here in fullest measure. There is no country in the world so vitally concerned with a healthful and helpful use of publicity as is the United States of America at this hour.

Yet it is also evident that the commercial and monopoly domination of publicity prevails with us as it does nowhere else in our time.

The high cost of publicity is one of the marked features of our American life. The churches require an equipment in order to carry on effective public appeal far beyond the equipment of the churches of yesterday. Many of them spend more money on newspaper advertising now than they spent formerly on music and all the incidentals of worship. Some of the larger churches spend more upon the radio than the pulpit cost them half a century ago. The high cost of political preferment has already been indicated, largely due to the use of greater advertising space, the employment of the screen and the radio. These new devices have occasioned likewise a considerable increase in the cost of all commercial ventures. Together with the newspapers and popular magazines they have become themselves vast commercial enterprises, requiring the investment of millions to carry on effectively. Consolidations in the newspaper world, presenting greater and greater aggregations of capital, have centralized the control of this form of publicity in fewer and fewer hands. Magazines with a million circulation command the field of the weekly and

(*Continued on Page* 319)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

VOLUME CVI | MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1931 | NUMBER 20

SHELLEY'S CHALLENGE ANSWERED!

(In India, 1930-1931)

From the workhouse and the prison
Where pale as corpses newly risen,
Women, children, young and old
Groan for pain, and weep for cold—

From the haunts of daily life
Where is waged the daily strife
With common wants and common cares
Which sows the human heart with tares . . .

Ye who suffer woes untold,
Or to feel, or to behold
Your lost country bought and sold
With a price of blood and gold . . .

Stand ye calm and resolute,
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war . . .

And if then the tyrants dare
Let them ride among you there,
Slash and stab, and maim, and hew—
What they like, that let them do.

With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear, and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay
Till their rage has died away . . .

And that slaughter to the nation
Shall steam up like inspiration,
Eloquent, oracular;
A volcano heard afar.

Percy Bysshe Shelley, in "The Mask of Anarchy"

If all those who have reason to be grateful to the late Nathan Straus were to rise up and call him blessed, there would be a sound around the earth like the rushing of many waters. The hundreds of thousands who were kept alive by his soup kitchens in the great panic-distress of 1893-94, the millions of babies whose lives were saved to useful manhood and womanhood by his pasteurized milk stations, the 170,000 Jews in Palestine who have had the service of his heart and hand in their labors to rebuild Zion, these are a few of the myriads who have been served during a long life-time by the beneficence of this one man. Nathan Straus was a Jew, always an ardent and loyal Jew, certainly the most famous and best beloved of modern Jews. His passion for Zion was a characteristic passion. But never at any time was any of his philanthropic work limited to Israel. Need was to him a human thing, and was therefore to be treated in universal terms. So when he fed the hungry in the bleak winters of 1893 and 1894, he fed all who applied, Jew and Gentile, worthy and unworthy. When he opened his milk stations, they were for every little one, regardless of race or religion. When he established his public health centers in Palestine, they were placed freely at the disposal of Arabs as well as Jews. In an age when nationalistic and racial animosities ran high, he smoothed the waters of human feeling to the exalted level of his own sense of universal brotherhood. Nathan Straus was strong, aggressive, belligerent. His fighting capacity was revealed in his long and single-handed battle against expert scientific opinion and entrenched political and social influence for his theory of pasteurized milk for babes, which he carried through in the face of enormous odds to a magnificent victory. He cherished idiosyncratic opinions and curious personal ways. But his oddities, the ear-marks of a robust and unconquerable will, only made the more tender and beautiful the essential compassion of his spirit. Beginning with his adored wife and children, and reaching out to the feeblest waif on the farthest outskirts of human misery, he was all love, and pity, and eagerness to help. Nathan Straus was a useful citizen, a bountiful philanthropist, an heroic crusader, and a friend to millions who never saw his face. In more ways than one he was the noblest American of his time.

The chances that the Indian Round Table Conference will come to anything are still practically *nil*. Yet the proceedings of this Conference, moving ever more steadily toward the idea in some diluted form of dominion status, are of momentous significance. What does it mean when the Indian representatives, in spite of every temptation, hang persistently together in their demands? Still more, what does it mean when Lord Reading, opposed in the beginning to concessions, executes a right-about-face and comes out for home rule? To these questions there can be but a single answer—namely, the situation in India itself. Private advices from the East indicate that terrific en-

deavors are being made to break the resistance of the Nationalist movement. Between 60,000 and 70,000 leaders of the movement are now in prison. Just as fast as any one of these leaders is released on expiration of sentence, he is promptly arrested again and doomed to another period in jail. But it is not only the leaders who are made to suffer, but the masses of the people as well. *Lathi* assaults on unoffending villagers and city crowds are constant, and the hospitals are as full of wounded as the prisons are of prisoners. Censorship of the press is like a great gag bound fast over the mouth of the nation. The National cause must be broken, else the Round Table will never yield to the will of empire! Yet the cause remains steadfast, the leaders undaunted, the people loyal and enthusiastic. It is this marvelous cohesion of Nationalism at home which is registered in the conference proceedings across the seas. The unremitting pressure of Gandhi and his millions grinds like a glacier upon the minds of Indians and English alike in London. And the report of the Conference, be it remembered, will succeed or fail according as it is accepted or rejected by these same millions. Nothing that is done in London, in the House of Commons or elsewhere, will determine anything. It is the will of the Mahatma which holds and directs the destinies of men.

We have long since discovered that bankers and brokers and politicians know nothing about economics, but how many of us realize that trained professional economists know nothing also? Statesmen from Mr. Hoover down, financiers of every grade, both high and low, made themselves ridiculous last year by their prophecies in regard to the speedy termination of the business depression. But economists, the scientists of industry and finance, made themselves no less ridiculous. Here is an irreverent son of Harvard, for example, making an exhibit of the bulletins of the Harvard Economic Society, sent out every week by the experts of the University and exerting great influence throughout the entire nation. Says this crimson graduate, Mr. William P. Evarts, a Boston lawyer:

> This influential bulletin, backed by the prestige of the oldest university in the East, because of its optimistic tones helped to push the market up higher and higher and made the inevitable crash so much greater and then helped to delay the real recovery by ill-timed optimism.

In substantiation of this serious charge, Mr. Evarts appends quotations from the bulletins covering the past two years. Some of the quotations follow:

> On Oct. 5, 1929, the bulletin said, "We believe this week's liquidation will not inaugurate a period of prolonged decline but will prove intermediate like other recessions since 1921." On Nov. 30, 1929, "A depression like 1920-1921 is clearly out of the question. We face a recession which will terminate in the Spring."
>
> On Jan. 8, 1930, "The most acute stage of the recession is probably over." On March 1, "Continued ease in the money market is still in prospect. Manufacturing is generally on the road to recovery."
>
> On May 17, "General prices are now at bottom and will shortly improve. The rise may be considerable in Summer and Autumn and should bring the year's averages well above present levels." On Sept. 20, "In view of present factors, business improvement will prove more than seasonal, we believe."

From statements of this kind it is evident that economics is not a science at all, but just a plain, ordinary fraud. These Harvard scholars, who are no different from experts operating in other halls of learning, are engaged in exactly the same kind of business as fortune-tellers, crystal-gazers, and palm-readers. A dollar paid to any astrologer on Sixth Avenue would have produced just as authentic information as this offered by a group of the best economists in the country. And these men, be it said, are still prophesying pleasant things! Of course, "it's a long lane that has no turning." Some day this business slump has got to end. But our experts who are prating so volubly know no more about it than the witch-doctors of Africa.

Why all this horror at the prospect of an extra session of Congress? Has democracy got to such a pass that it can survive only to the extent that its government goes out of business? Call Moscow, and tell them the news! The Bolsheviki will rejoice at this one more evidence of the break-down of the Republic? Or is it that we can trust only our great and good President, and must leave him unhampered to work his own wise will upon the people in his own wise way? Page Mussolini, and give him the news! He will be delighted to hear that one-man rule has progressed so far in this land of constitutional checks and balances. Our explanation of the situation is different, and not so heartening to our Communist and Fascist friends. We believe that the business interests of the country, demoralized by the depression which they cannot exorcise away, are scared lest Congress stay in session and be driven to do some of the drastic things long since properly demanded by such a crisis as now exists. They are especially scared because there is just one branch of the government in Washington which has not yet come to heel but persists in roving now and then—namely, the Senate—and they tremble at what this untamed Senate might do under pressure of a hungry and distracted people. The Senators, of course—more especially the Progressives of both parties—have long been the subject of ridicule from the great business-ridden newspapers of the industrial and commercial centers. And why, if not to make the Senators ridiculous, and then hated, as a first step toward their enslavement to the established interests of privilege? This Lucas attack on Senator Norris—what was it but a desperate endeavor to break the power and influence of the only group of men now left in Washington who understand the needs and the righteous demands of the people? We agree with Senator Borah that, in the present situation in legislation and in the present crisis in public affairs, there is no reason why Congress should not meet in special

session, and every reason why it should. If Mr. Hoover and the big banks and corporations can't get along with Congress, give the people a chance!

If Governor Roosevelt of New York wants to be President of the United States, he can do so. He is a man of education, culture, refinement, and great personal charm. He has an unassailable reputation for integrity and honor. He has behind him the greatest political triumph in the history of his state, and before him an almost unparalleled opportunity for courageous public service. This opportunity, upon which will turn his destiny, lies in the corruption of the Tammany administration in New York City, which is now beginning to smell to heaven like an open sewer. If Governor Roosevelt assails this administration, drags its abominations to the light of day, harries the offenders from office and punishes their crimes, nothing can keep him from the White House. He will repeat the history of Grover Cleveland, who won three nominations and two elections to the Presidential office in the teeth of the hateful and determined opposition of Tammany Hall. For Tammany is as unpopular through the nation today as in the '80s and '90s of the last century. Identification with the Hall was one of the heaviest loads carried by "Al" Smith in 1928. Any candidate who bears the honorable badge of Tammany's hate and fear is certain for that reason alone to capture the enthusiastic support of the great masses of the American people. Regardless of party, the voters will "love him for the enemies he has made." So the White House is within Roosevelt's grasp—and beyond his grasp if, in the present situation, he does not declare war against Tammany to the knife! There can be no faltering, no compromise, no half-way adjustments. Roosevelt is either for or against Tammany—he is either resolved to expose and punish its betrayal of Greater New York, or else to wink at it for the sake of the machine's political support. His actions to date would seem to indicate that he is afraid to challenge Tammany, and is content to do business with its minions in exchange for influence in conventions and at the polls. Nothing could be more short-sighted! We shall know in the next few weeks whether or not Franklin K. Roosevelt is to follow in the footsteps of Cleveland or of Smith.

It is not customary for Protestants and other unbelievers to comment upon the encyclical utterances of the Pope. Comment wide and fierce, however, has followed upon the publication of the latest encyclical of Pius XI, not only because this document discusses problems of universal human interest, but also because it was deliberately directed not only to the faithful but to the race in general. We have all been admonished, and therefore we may all make reply. At bottom, of course, the Pope's purpose is admirable. He sees the corruptions of our day, the indecencies and laxities characteristic of our society, and would feign end them. So far, so good! Any one who will try to vindicate and protect marriage in this day and generation, for example, is worthy of all praise. But how would the Holy Father accomplish his purpose? By remedies which utterly ignore all the advances in human knowledge, all the progress of science and religion, in the last one thousand years! What we have in this encyclical is a tenth century mind at work on twentieth century problems and the result is of course deplorable. The Pope's interpretation of marriage is mythology; his denial of divorce is superstition; his denunciation of birth control is bigotry; as for his commandments to women, they are a reversion to utter paganism. We are never going to settle the marriage question, or anything else for that matter, by quoting St. Augustine. The Pope is an able, sincere, but hopelessly benighted man. He yearns for the purification of morals and the salvation of society. There are many more of us who should feel his deep concern for the contemporary world. But bad as things are, there is no way out through this doorway of a reactionary Catholicism.

The Burden of a Bishop

After a furious eruption in the public prints, the ecclesiastical volcano on Morningside Heights in New York City has subsided again. For the moment "the tumult and the shouting" have died. Judge Ben Lindsey has departed, and the cathedral close is still. Sooner or later, of course, there will be another explosion. Some Christian brother will be harshly banned from an Episcopalian pulpit; the letter of some canonical law will be harshly invoked to make rough the path of the righteous; some unhappy wight will be cast out of the "house of prayer for all peoples"; and we shall thus be taught anew what befalls the gospel of Jesus Christ when it comes into the hands and heart of Bishop William T. Manning. But meanwhile it may be well to consider for a moment what has been happening in recent days, and assess something of the consequences involved.

I

First, we think of the consequences that have fallen upon the Episcopal Church as a result of having a bishop of the Manning stripe on the throne of power in New York. Episcopacy is of course a religious order of great dignity and noble character. Its leaders have more often than not been men of exalted speech and influence. One thinks instinctively of Bishop Brooks, of Boston, one of the half-dozen

greatest religious leaders this country has ever produced, and, more recently, of Bishop Williams, of Detroit, a man who rivaled Gladden and Rauschenbusch in the passion and power of his social ministry. In New York itself there rises up out of the recent past the fine succession of Bishop Potter and Bishop Greer, and that spirit of pure prophecy, Dr. Stickney Grant. Today in the city there are such men as Robert Norwood, Karl Reiland, Russell Bowie, William Guthrie, Donald Bradshaw Aldrich, Howard Melish, Eliot White, than which if there is a nobler galaxy of churchmen, we do not happen to know where it can be found. The constituency of the Episcopal Church has always been as renowned for culture as its ministry for scholarship. And usually there has prevailed among laity and clergy alike a spirit of freedom and fellowship not inconsistent with the traditionally orthodox temper of the body. Of course, the Church has made its mistakes. Thus, its heresy trials of such men as Algernon S. Crapsey and William Montgomery Brown are dark blots upon the history not only of American Episcopacy but also of religion itself in this country. Its failure to affiliate with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is a sad commentary on the sincerity of its devotion to the cause of religious unity. Like the Unitarians, the Episcopalians have always been too respectable, and therefore on critical occasions timid. Like all Christians, they have been too much "conformed to this world." But now all errors are forgotten, all lapses forgiven, in the somber tragedy of Bishop Manning.

We say "somber," for over all the situation in the New York diocese there rests the shadow of the Dark Ages. The Bishop matches the cathedral which he is building. The one, like the other, belongs not at all to this contemporary hour, but only to that period, long since dead, which fostered alike the beauty of the cloister and the horror of the rack. Dr. Manning in appearance is a perfect specimen of medievalism in its more forbidding aspects. Wrap his cadaverous face, his burning eyes, his savage scowl in the overshadowing folds of a monkish hood, and you would have the inquisitor to the life! And behind this face there hides a mind as terrible as the Rome it worships —masterful in sheer ability, ruthless in dogmatic surety, flawless in logical consistency, merciless in will and deed, sublime in readiness to die, and to make others die, in fidelity to conviction sprung from the revelation of the Most High God himself. In power as in spirit —fateful combination!—Manning is a figure which has been unseen and therefore unknown for many generations past. And it is this man, thanks to the admiration of strong laymen and weak clergymen for mere administrative ability, who was elected some years ago to the most important and conspicuous bishopric in America, and now conducts ecclesiastical affairs in the capital city of the commerce, industry and culture of the modern world. Such situation presents an "irony of circumstance" to which only the genius of a Thomas Hardy could do justice!

What the Episcopal Church suffers in this situation is manifest. The greatest diocese in the country is held up to the scorn and contempt of men. The free spirit and friendly temper of a group of the ablest ministers in America is rendered of no effect. Vast properties, enormous incomes, are diverted from works of spiritual enlightenment and liberation, and dedicated afresh to the service of dead issues of dead tradition. A noble church, powerful out of all proportion to the number of its priests and worshippers, is placed as a huge obstacle in the path of progress so painfully followed, even under the best of circumstances, by the feeble and faltering feet of men. There is not an Episcopal church in New York City—nor in the country at large, for that matter—which does not lie under the shadow of this one man. There is not an altar which is not darkened, not a pulpit which is not muffled, by this lowering influence of storm. The cathedral itself, the pride of Manning's heart, stands as a monument of impiety before which men wag their heads in pity or in scorn. What are Episcopalians of open mind and friendly spirit, what are they doing that they are content to live in silence beneath the rule of this ecclesiastic? Why do they not hang their altars in mourning, and bestrew their garments with ashes, in proclamation to the world that what perhaps they cannot alter, they at least repudiate and deplore.

II

But it is not only Episcopalians who are concerned with the problem of Bishop Manning. The present situation, steadily aggravated through the years to its current noisomeness and shame, affects not only the clergy and laity of the Bishop's church, but all men and women who are Christians—indeed, all men and women anywhere who have an interest in the dignity and pure potency of religion. For it is to be carefully remembered that there are millions of people in the world who know little and care less about all the various denominational differences and distinctions which loom so large in the minds of persons trained under the tutelage of established Christian sects. These millions simply know that there are great bodies of people known as Christians, a huge mass of opinion and attitude dominated by so-called religion; and they easily assume that any ecclesiastical officer or spokesman is representative and therefore typical of this world. Whatever Bishop Manning does, he does for us all; whatever he says, he says for us all. This Congregationalist, or that Unitarian or the other Humanist, may inveigh with all the passion of an outraged heart that the Bishop of Morningside Heights represents him no more than the Lhama of Thibet, or the Shaman of Tokyo. Yet the man in the street, ignorant or scornful of theological differentiations, will make the iden-

tification. "Whether the one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it." We religious folk are one, in other words, whether we would have it so or not. We may refuse till the end of time to work or worship together, but the world lumps us none the less in one great body of accord.

It is this fact which lays the burden of Manning upon the shoulders of us all. Not merely the New York diocese but all dioceses throughout the nation, not only the Episcopal Church but all Protestant churches, not only Norwood and Reiland and Melish but Fosdick and Cadman and Jenkins, and even Wise and Krass and rabbis generally, bow and stumble beneath the weight of this one churchman. We are all so many spiritual Sinbads, carrying together this Old Man of the See! We do not want to exaggerate, especially in so serious a matter as this which we are considering. None the less must we say it is our sober judgment that in nothing has Christianity in particular and religion in general suffered so terribly in recent years as in the actions of Bishop Manning. All the antics of the atheists, all the mouthings of the materialists, all of the conspiracies of the Communists, are as dust in the balance when compared, from the standpoint of damage to the established institutions of religion, to the performances of this punctilious, pompous and petty prelate. If he alone carried the burden, paid the price, of his pious petulance, we might find it possible to enjoy, in a wicked sort of way, the blind stupidities of such a man. But when not merely the Bishop, but the millions with whom he is identified, the great religion for which he presumes to speak, the very Nazarene whose sacred name he takes, are alike dragged beneath the stirring waves of a world's ridicule and contempt, it is time to recognize the tragedy and to ponder the remedy.

III

And always, as the imposing setting of the drama, there stands the great Cathedral of St. John the Divine. *"A House of Prayer for All Peoples!"* It may not be a legal point, but it surely is a moral point as to what extent Bishop Manning got his money for this church "under false pretenses."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Jottings

A scientist has discovered an ancient tomb in Jerusalem, bearing in Aramaic the inscription "Jesus, son of Joseph." The newspapers describe this as important. But why, when all the Christian creeds have it that Jesus was the son not of Joseph but of God?

Nathan Straus, rich Jew, beloved of men of all creeds and races, was buried, by his own express desire, in a simple coffin of white pine. The latest gangster, murdered by his "pals," was buried in a bronze casket so heavy that strong men tottered beneath its weight. There is an appropriateness in all things!

Governor Cross, of Connecticut, mentioned Chaucer and Dickens in his inaugural address, and the news traveled in headlines from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And why not, when the general run of our American politicians are the most illiterate tribe in any country on this earth!

Speaking of Governor Cross and Chaucer, it was in support of his "wet" convictions that the Governor quoted the ancient English bard. It is significant that it is to such old-time worthies that our "wets" have to go back for their authorities. And these authorities are about as impressive as George Washington on slavery and St. Paul on the rights of women.

Dr. Edwin Hubble, of the Mt. Wilson Observatory, has computed the limit of Creation to be 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 light years. If this is Creation limited, we wonder what is Creation unlimited.

Inflated Reputations (6) H. L. Mencken who has made his own stature appear large by the simple device of making the stature of other men appear small.

J. H. H.

I See Again

Completely blinded by a sense of duty
For years I lived forgetting beauty.
I could not see the hills, the woods of pine
Beyond the far horizon line.
And strange I felt in each familiar place
Till loveliness illumined grace!
There was a rush of fire, a blare
Of nature's resonance. Everywhere
The meadows, rivers, shrubs and trees
Were blooming. I heard melodies
In rapid waves. Bewilderment of spring
Now gave a song to everything.
And love struck blindness far from me.
Revelation! I could see
Beyond the hills and through the night.
At last, I have regained my sight!

FANIA KRUGER

Prophetic India

From the olden walls of St. James' Palace, King Charles the First was led forth to his trial, and, later, to his execution. Like many another traveler, I have stood on the spot where Charles received his death sentence in Westminster Hall; and more fortunately than some, perhaps, I have seen the actual death-warrant signed by Cromwell and a long list of judges who, after all, were only Cromwell. All this is vivid history.

And somehow, as I contemplate the proceedings now going on at the same tradition-haunted place, the one scene mingles curiously with the other. At the oval table which is euphemistically labeled "round," surrounded by bright red wallpaper and heavy curtains, sit a small group of Englishmen and nearly sixty Indians. These last are there to speak for India, but in effect they have been chosen by the ruling power, Britain. Every one of them knows that at home he is on trial. There is no threat of the executioner's block save in a political and social sense. Their judge will be the great section of the Indian people who refuse to take them seriously, and who will judge them by the standard of a slight man now imprisoned in Yerovda jail. Whatever may be the outcome of the present deliberations, even if it be a constitution for a federated India, it will be devoid of life unless it meets the desires of the Indian National Congress, the only body which has any substantial claim to represent majority opinion among the articulate masses of India. As the conservative editor of the *Observer,* Mr. J. L. Garvin, recently put it, "Anyone is a 'zany' who supposes that the extremist forces not represented at the Round Table are going to be reduced to a pacific cipher by anything which may be recommended at that piece of furniture." Mr. MacDonald may say at the beginning, "We are all here together"; but over in India are the men and women his Government has thought it necessary to put behind the bars, and it is only they, and their tremendous following, who at long last will decide the issue. They may decide it by weakening in their solidarity or in their demands, or by their ultimate clear victory. But the decision will not be made at St. James' Palace, in the House of Commons, or at 10 Downing Street.

Soon after these lines are read, if not before, a definite statement of Round Table progress will in all probability have been made by the Prime Minister. It may run to the effect that an agreement has been reached. It may reveal more fully what everyone here knows—that basic conflicts of interest have proved almost immovable. It may use the fair language of a "strategic retreat" to foretell final disruption. Writing under conditions prevailing at the turn of the year, I should be inclined to hazard a guess that at this conference (which is like "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out) no far-reaching program of unity, based on freedom from British dominance, will be achieved; and anything less than freedom in dominion status is doomed in India itself.

One must always hope; and it would be gratifying to believe that from this Conference might come forth a program for a free India. But it would be dishonorable, merely for the sake of appearing a more balanced reporter, to repeat in this article the official propaganda regarding the proceedings, a propaganda rendered indefensible in view of the strict censorship over Indian news.

It is only fair to say, however, that the Indian speakers have used plain language, demonstrating the unified demand of their country for freedom, and that they have been allowed to speak directly to the British people by means of the radio, as guests of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the government monopoly. All this has been highly educational to a public whose interest in India is cool, if not distinctly lacking. But as a rule the speakers have prudentially confined themselves to voicing Indian aspirations; they have not said very much about what is going on in India at the present time.

Nobody can understand the continued bitterness in India, or the insistence of the Indians here, without knowing how British policy, which is not malicious but blundering and unimaginative, is daily driving a deep wedge between the rulers and the ruled. And despite the censorship, discounting the spread of rumor and falsehood, there is plenty of information of reliable character here available.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the conferees, said upon his arrival in London that "a loss of faith in the intention of England is the outstanding feature of Indian political life." A year ago the Viceroy stated definitely that it was "implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of Indian constitutional progress . . . is the attainment of Dominion Status." Indians, the Round Table Conference notwithstanding, simply do not believe this to be the intent of Britain, irrespective of which party is in office.

If anyone is inclined to accept the superficial quiet of the censored press as a reflection of the real India, let him ponder the speech of the Governor of the Punjab, made last October 25th—a fairly recent date in view of the slowness with which news is coming through. He ought to know, for news has just reached London of his attempted assassination by a violent young man listed as an anarchist. It is no sign of agreement with the tactics outlined to claim for this quotation that it shows the state of popular feeling:

> The campaign (for freedom) has not only been continuous but has been also widespread. Not a single district in the Province has escaped its operations at one time or another; and even remote tracts, which had hitherto remained untouched by movements of this nature, have had the usually tranquil surface of their daily life ruffled by the breeze of agitation. Also there is no form which the movement has taken in other parts of India which has not been tried here. Intensive excitation by meetings, speeches and processions, pamphleteering, enrollment of volunteers, breaches of the salt law, breaches of the forest law, refusal to pay rent, refusal to pay municipal taxes, refusal to pay land revenue and water rates, picketing of cloth, liquor and other shops, boycott and molestation of Government service and the supporters of Government, insult and vilification of the Police, efforts to subvert military and police from their loyalty, attempts to close schools and colleges, resistance to arrest and the processes of the law, disobedience of prohibitory orders, marching by jatha through the countryside with unlawful purpose—with all these manifestations unfortunately during past months we have been only too familiar. Women and boys have been freely used as agents to add to difficulties.

A British journalist of high repute, traveling in India, states that the liquor boycott proceeds on an enormous scale. "Everywhere the silent pickets, mostly women, sit with their placards in front of the shops, and some, in the unspeakable filth of the slums, even watch the back doors. Drinking has diminished

by more than a half, and licenses are sold at half the former figure."

The answer to the determined volunteers has been the use of bullets very rarely, but universally the *lathi* charge. The Bombay Medical Union recently found that of all injuries from *lathi* charges during the preceding six months, the percentage of head injuries had greatly increased, indicating the mounting ferocity of the police. They issued the following table:

Lathi Charges on	Percentage of Head Injuries
June 21, 1930	10 per cent
July 11, 1930	13 per cent
Aug. 2, 1930	19 per cent
Sept. 18, 1930	20 per cent
Oct. 18, 1930	62 per cent

Miss Slade, daughter of Admiral Slade and a student in Gandhi's *Ashram,* recently toured through the region of Bardoli. This was once, a few years ago, the scene of a highly successful civil disobedience crusade, conspicuously non-violent. Lately it has been causing especial concern to the British *Raj.* Here she actually found, at Kaira, a condition which needs to be reported. She writes to the British *New Leader:*

> It was like a wild nightmare. I was in a zoological garden. There were the cages in a line looking onto a shallow verandah —cages in which one expected to see a couple of leopards or small bears. But no leopards or bears were there. No! They were the eyes of human beings that were peering through those bars. And not four eyes in the case in front of us, but thirty-six—thirty-six heart-rending human eyes! For a moment I could not take it all in. I felt dumbfounded. Then as I looked I began to recognize old friends and acquaintances behind the bars. I pulled myself together and greeted them cheerily. But this wild nightmare was almost choking me. "Well, what a place you have got into this time! How big is it? Pace it out and let us see." One of them paced it out. About 33 feet by 27 feet. "And you are eighteen?" "Yes, we are eighteen, and kept locked up in here all the twenty-four hours, except for forty minutes in the early morning, when we are taken out for latrine, bathing, and washing of clothes, and that we have to get through as fast as we can." . . . With us was the mother of one of those who had been locked up there for over a month and a half.

It must not be forgotten that of the 26,000 nationalists admitted to be imprisoned,* less than a thousand have ever been charged with any violence. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, just before sailing for the United States after a tour through India, wrote in the London *Nation and Athenaeum:* "In the villages, among which I passed five days, every scruple is forgotten, and in the areas which are resisting taxation, peasants are beaten indiscriminately for no discoverable offence, unless it be the wearing of the white Gandhi cap. In spite of all this immeasurable suffering, danger and loss, the Hindu population in the Bombay Presidency is all but solid for Congress." He further reports that "Trade is at a standstill and credit scarcely exists."

Well indeed may those who are skeptical of non-violence as a means of accomplishing social change, study the effect of the economic campaign against British dominance. There is, unfortunately, no completely accurate index for measuring the influence of the non-coöperation crusade this year. Most of those who quote figures showing drops in trade allow their zeal for India to blind their eyes to general trade decreases everywhere. Nevertheless, the ordinary depression is far exceeded in the trade betwen India and Britain. The total imports from India into the United Kingdom, as given by official Government figures in the House of Commons, amounted in the first quarter of 1930 to 14,001,000 pounds, whereas the same period in 1929 showed 16,350,000 pounds. In the second quarter there was a drop from 11,719,000 pounds to 9,576,000 pounds. Exports from the United Kingdom to India showed greater losses. Monthly figures covering commodities constituting about seventy per cent of all trade available, and these show an increasingly rapid falling off. For example, exports to India in August amounted only to 2,027,000 pounds as against 4,714,000 pounds for the same month in 1929; September of 1930 showed only 1,491,000 pounds, in contrast to 3,728,000 pounds in 1929. Still more significant is the effect of the spinning campaign and the boycott of Lancashire cotton goods. According to *Commerce,* the British trade journal, exports of cotton piece goods to Indian ports, figured in hundreds of square yards, dropped as follows:

	1930	1929	1928
Karachi	4,572	13,145	19,875
Bombay	3,214	22,677	22,838
Madras	2,819	6,590	8,386
Bengal	9,185	42,719	74,022
Burma	2,936	4,723	3,154
TOTALS	22,726	89,854	128,275

Speaking before a meeting of the Bengal Coal Company, Mr. J. H. Sime, on December 18th, admitted that the withdrawal of capital from companies and public funds during the last twelve months had been considerable. One Englishman of the extremely anti-India class, almost incoherent with rage, recently wrote to a leading British weekly to proclaim that "India is not their own country. By right of conquest India belongs to the British." But he also said, interestingly enough, out of much contact with the country, "Practically every firm in India has incurred enormous losses, and many have been compelled to effect drastic reductions in their staffs." May not Mr. Brailsford be right when he says that nothing can save the situation but generous action? India is vital to British economic interest; but as a friend it could be vastly more vital than it is today. Here is a nation of more than 300,000,000 people. All other population of the British dominions does not exceed 126,000,000. Why not be generous to India? One would think that self-interest alone would dictate a more flexible policy.

But India is neither a British nor an Indian problem, pure and simple. This struggle is a world issue. Nothing looms larger on the horizon of modern international relations than imperialism, political and economic, benevolent or oppressive. While distraught peoples are restive under the existence of outside rule, no matter how well intended that rule may be, world peace will be an empty phrase. There can be no peace without the satisfaction of men's desires for justice and equality of status. Imperialism releases upon the whole world a subtle miasma that harms none more than imperialists themselves.

It is ruinous to self-reliance. England, we often hear, has been saved by her colonies. It may be so. But just as the white man in former days relaxed and grew shiftless when he had slaves to do his dirty work, so does imperial rule bring to those who wield it eventually a moral paralysis. This has been true historically of all imperialisms; is the British likely to escape unless it change, as it has been changing, toward a more realistic partnership? I write not of British imperialism as better or worse than any other; I use it merely because it is our case in point.

*Indian estimates of the number of imprisoned nationalists run from 60,000 to 70,000.

Imperialism, too, is a frequent excuse for incompetence. If there is anything that thoughtful and traveled Englishmen agree on, particularly those who have been in Canada, Australia or New Zealand, it is the general slowness of British industry to take up new ideas, to go ahead and modernize productive processes. Yet they have been even slower, according to the views of intelligent Indians—whose impatience is undoubtedly a cause of occasional exaggeration—to approach the Indian question with energy, ambition, and open helpfulness. I have talked with countless Englishmen who freely admit a high degree of shortcoming, even failure, in the treatment of India over the long years behind. But one often finds the conventional argument that Indians are constitutionally, even biologically, incapable of self-rule. "What," I invariably ask, "after these many decades of British tutelage and aid?" The rest is silence. I am reminded more often than I would wish of a certain man who was complaining of his wife. "The old lady," he said to an intimate, "ain't much good unless I beat her up a bit now and then and keep her in line." "Well," replied his friend, "why don't you leave her?" To which the first gentleman responded, sententiously, "What would she do without me?"

Imperialism breeds an unscientific self-adulation which fattens on its own dullness. In the London Museum of Natural History there is an Upper Mammal Room which has caused me many a chuckle. It may be it is just like ours in the States; about this I have forgotten. Around the walls are placed facsimile heads of the darker peoples, showing the various racial and linguistic types. There are no Nordics present. But down the center stretches a row of glass cases containing, seriatim, apes, chimpanzees, and gorillas. The whole effect is deliberate, taken for granted, utterly fatuous, and wholly at variance with any sound science of anthropology. The imperialist mentality, wherever it exists, whether in London or Washington or anywhere else, lives under a blight of primordial superstition. Neither science nor art, neither progress nor peace, can flourish save in an atmosphere infused with true humility.

India well illustrates how imperialism breeds docility in its subject peoples. Only a miracle like Gandhi could have aroused the Indian masses from their lethargy into an animate, articulate desire; probably nothing like it historically was ever accomplished unless it was the stirring of China by her youth. Sadder still, imperialism usually brings the worst elements to the front. The *lathis,* after all, are being wielded chiefly by Indians themselves, whose hope of profiting drives them to disloyalty against their own people. It is not an edifying spectacle to see the ascetic and saintly, if humanly imperfect, Gandhi languishing in prison, and with him many of saintly character also, while at the Round Table Conference, along with a number of fine men and women, are a coterie of those who have exploited their own people ruthlessly. Horse racers, polo players, and native nabobs may not necessarily be too low for regard, but I have no hesitancy in saying that not a few of those who have received places of distinction at the Round Table are unworthy to be there at all. As Reginald Reynolds, the young man who carried Gandhi's message to the Viceroy, has recently related, the Mahatma once spoke directly to some of the Princes who were in an audience he was addressing. Looking them in the eye he declared, firmly, "Every jewel in the turbans of these rajahs appears to me as a drop of blood squeezed from the Indian peasantry."

The deepest significance of the struggle, from which the Round Table Conference seems so remote, is its use of non-violence adhered to in a remarkable degree to put through a revolutionary enterprise. This is not a new thing, as many commentators seem to think; a number of almost similar contests have occurred before in various parts of the world during the last few hundred years, some of them being rewarded with splendid victory for the non-violent side. But this struggle is on a scale previously unknown, and in a situation infinitely complex. It is strikingly bold, strikingly successful thus far, even if it may not carry on to victory at the finish. It is also strikingly prophetic, portentous of warless conflicts in the future, marked chiefly by the sufferance of hardship, unflinchingly, for the sake of a coveted freedom. Hence we see in India not merely a world issue of today, which it assuredly is, but an issue which reaches into the future with its possibilities of non-violent crusades instead of barbarous, futile war. However it may end, no question agitating our planet transcends it in significance for this harassed generation. DEVERE ALLEN.

The Profit System and Unemployment

In a region where there is an epidemic of malaria it is important for doctors to give quinine. But if nobody ever did anything about malaria except to dose patients with quinine, malaria would not be as near to being wiped out as it is. In our tragic epidemic of unemployment it is vitally important to bring immediate help, and that by public measures rather than merely by private charity. It is even more important to raise the question how we can wipe out poverty in general and unemployment in particular.

The first step in wiping out malaria was to discover the cause of it and then to drain the marshes in which the mosquitoes breed. We have already discovered the general cause of unemployment. We have not drained the marshes of our profit-seeking system.

Everyone will agree that although millions are hungry it is not for lack of food or the possibility of supplying food in our world. Although millions shiver without sufficient clothing it is not for lack of cotton or wool or mills to make cloth or shops to turn cloth into clothes. Machinery has brought it to pass that ours is a new type of poverty and a new type of unemployment. It is the poverty of men who starve in the midst of plenty, the unemployment of men who are told that they are idle because they have produced too much.

Such a tragically crazy failure to be well off when we have all the facilities and the natural resources to abolish poverty must be due to the way we manage our facilities. Today we manage them under a system of private ownership of land, natural resources and the principal means of production and distribu-

tion, which private ownership works only in hope of private profit. The result is exploitation and the chaos of an unplanned system.

Power driven machinery makes it possible to support great populations in plenty. It has changed the basis of our civilization from one of enforced frugality to abundance. In spite of its mismanagement it has shortened hours and in many cases lightened the burden of monotonous and back-breaking toil. Yet under the profit system the story of the progress of machinery is literally written in tears and blood. And for every advance step in technological progress the under dog has paid in the loss of his job. This is true because we have never asked: how can we use machinery to provide more abundant goods and increase leisure for everybody? Instead the profit seeking owners of factories have said: how can we increase profits? It is easy to show that in the long run machinery by making it possible to have more things makes possible more jobs as well as shorter hours of labor. But men eat in the short run, and in the short run the boss introduces a new machine in the hope of making an immediately greater profit, which profit is very often realized only by cutting down his payroll. The employer who does this is not a villain. Under the profit system his business is to make profit. He can't help it if that means giving some men the bitter leisure of unemployment and speeding up others. Nowadays if he is enlightened he may talk very nicely about the advantages of the five-day week. But unless he is in a very strong position he cannot put in the five-day week by himself. He must wait until pressure of the workers, directly or through labor legislation, forces employers generally to a shorter week. Under the profit system the rate of introduction of machinery is controlled with reference to profit and not to the rate of absorption of dispossessed workers in industry or to the increase of leisure. The answer to that weight of human woe which we call technological unemployment is to substitute planned production for use instead of production for private profit.

There is an even more serious result of harnessing power driven machinery to the profit motive than so-called technological unemployment. It is unemployment which results from what we call overproduction. In certain lines there is real overproduction under the profit system. The automobile business was prosperous. Therefore in search of profit too many automobile factories were opened. There is no accurate calculation of need under the profit system, and in the resultant chaos twice too many coal mines were opened. Flour and textile mills are erected with a capacity far in excess of any reasonable demand. And so it goes.

But while there may be actual overproduction in certain lines, in the sum total of things there is underconsumption. Underconsumption, even in America, the richest country in the world, and ghastly underconsumption when the world is taken as a whole. Basically the reason for this underconsumption is that after the landlords have taken rent for land which they did not make and absentee owners have taken profit out of the price of goods they did not make, the workers with hand and brain collectively do not get back in personal or social income the equivalent of what they produce. The workers create the stream of life-giving wealth. It is sluiced off by others. To be sure, the landlord and the profit takers in time reinvest most of what they have taken and so provide work. If they did not long ago our system would have come to an end. But out of rents and profits much is wasted in luxury; there are delays, great follies and much pure gambling in the process of reinvestment; the underpaid workers cannot get the things they need, surpluses pile up, which even the most frantic efforts cannot market abroad against the competition of other capitalist nations. With amazing regularity this sort of unplanned production and inequitable distribution results in a business crisis or depression. On the average of about every seven years machinery is stopped, men are unemployed, often prices fall. Slowly the surplus is absorbed and the cycle begins again. In America we are told that the new capitalism had found a way to avoid these cycles of depression. It was not so. At best our great capitalists found ways to mitigate the shock of a financial panic and somewhat to lessen inventories when the crisis came. More than that they cannot do. Only planned production for use, the abolition of parasitic ownership and the increase of spending power in the hands of the masses of the workers will end unemployment.

I do not say that this way to end unemployment is easy. In the long run it will have to take account of the whole world and not merely just the United States. The final answer to unemployment and to poverty is intelligent international Socialism. There is no other way. Immediate remedies for some of the suffering of unemployment will be good not only in themselves but because they help our progress toward this goal. It is not likely that we shall be able even to utilize these immediate remedies as we ought unless we are willing to look facts in the face, recognize that the tragedy of unemployment is inherent in the profit system and seek to substitute for that system production for use. So great a task requires a new philosophy and vision about the terms of our life together, a new program for working it out, and new or, rather, stronger organizations of consumers, of workers and citizens to put power behind our ideals. If the answer to unemployment is intelligent Socialism, it is folly to expect that answer to be given by parties belonging to the profit makers? The workers must have their own party. If eventually, why not now?

NORMAN THOMAS.

When Death Came for the Schoolmate of John Burroughs

Low are the sands in the glass,
Long is the way:
Quickly the hours pass,
Late is the day.
Over the hill I must go,
Go in a hurry.

Fearlessly wading the snow,
Facing the flurry.
White is the trail through the wood,
Blue is the shade,
But since the Father is good,
Why be afraid?

HARRY ELMORE HURD

Thoughts of Tolstoy

[*Selections from Tolstoy's "Readings for Every Day" here published for the first time in English*]

XXXVII

1.

Man loves himself. But if he loves only his body, then he is error, and he gets nothing but suffering from this love. Love for self is only good when a man loves the spiritual in himself. But the spiritual is one and the same in all men; and to love what is one in all men means to love all men and all that is alive.

2.

Only when man comprehends the frailty and misery of his bodily life, does he feel and understand all the felicity that is given him by love.

3.

We win bodily felicity only by taking it away from others. Spiritual felicity, the felicity of love, never fails to increase the felicity of others.

4.

As all the water will run out of a pail if there is even one little hole in it, so all the joys of love will leave a man's soul if there is dislike in him even toward one person. This truth cannot be repeated often enough, because its concealment has caused all the teachings of love to become mere words and to lose all their meanings for the felicity, both of individuals and of the whole world.

5.

If you expect recompense from men in return for love, then this love is not real. There may or may not be such a recompense; but it is the nature of love to give felicity to him who experiences it.

6.

To live by God's will means to be godlike. And in order to be godlike, desire nothing, fear nothing,—only love. And as soon as you love, you will neither desire nor fear anything. You must be godlike, but not like that God—the God of Sabaoth, the creator,—of whom church creeds teach (this is evidently insane), but like the God whom we only know through love. In order to be godlike, you need only love.

7.

Men live not by pondering over themselves, but by the presence of love in them.

It is as if God did not want men to live apart and therefore did not reveal to them what each one needs for himself; but wanted them to live as one, and therefore revealed to them what everyone needs for himself and for all; revealed to them that their life is in love.

8.

You strive toward felicity, and you will win what you are striving toward, if you strive toward the felicity that is attained by love: the felicity of all.

XXXVIII

1.

The body should serve the soul. But it often happens that passions overpower man, and then the soul becomes the servant of the body. In this lies sin.

2.

The more a man places his life in the body, the more he sins and deprives himself of true life—of love.

3.

In order to be happy, a man must liberate himself from the power of the body, and in this very liberation from the power of the body lies the life of every man.

4.

The life of man, whether he wants it or not, leads to an ever greater and greater measure of liberation from sin. The man who understands this helps with his own efforts the work that is being done through his life, and the life of such a man is in accord with what is being done with him.

5.

The ruinous consequences of sins for the individuals who commit them, as well as for the community in which they are committed, are so evident that, from the most ancient times, men saw the calamities which arise from sins, they preached and made laws against them, and punished people for them. It was prohibited to steal, to murder, to lead a depraved life, to slander, to become intoxicated; but, in spite of prohibitions and punishments, men continued and continue to sin, ruining their own lives and those of their neighbors.

This is due to the existence of false arguments for the justification of sin, from which it follows that there may be certain exceptional circumstances under which sins are not only pardonable but necessary. These false justifications are what are called "snares" in the Gospel.

So because of these snares, these false justifications of sin, most men do not abandon their sins, but continue to wallow in them; and, what is worst of all, they elevate these snares into doctrines of faith and educate the younger generations in them.

6.

Why are children morally superior to the majority of people? Because their reason is not perverted either by superstitions, snares or sins. With them nothing stands in the way of perfection, while with grown people there are sins, snares and superstitions in the way. Children have only to live; grown people have to struggle.

7.

In the moral world all is more closely bound together than in the physical world. Each deception brings in its train a series of deceptions; each cruelty, a series of cruelties.

XXXIX

1.

There are sins against men and sins against self. Sins against men come to pass because man does not respect the spirit of God in another; sins against self, because man does not respect the spirit of God in himself, and indulges the lusts of his flesh.

2.

The sins of men, whether they be simple bodily sins or snares and superstitions, are inevitably followed by harmful consequences, ruinous to life in the form of spiritual and physical sufferings. The only difference is that a man entangled in simple bodily sins (a glutton, a rake, a man who gives way to anger) may sooner come to his senses and feel the consequences of sin in his life; while a man living in the snares of pride, of vanity, of riches may for a long time fail to see the consequences of his sins. And men who have assimilated the superstitions of society, of government, of religion or of science are still less able to see their sins.

3.

What is more profitable: to spend four hours a

week on making bread, and then to live the whole week on this bread with water; or to spend twenty-one hours a week on the preparation of tasty and delicate food? Which is more valuable—an extra seventeen hours a week or rich food?

4.

The less you indulge the body with food, clothing, housing and entertainments, the freer life is. And, on the contrary, if you allow yourself to have better drink, food, clothing, housing and entertainment, there will be no end to labor and worry.

5.

God sent men food, but the devil sent them cooks.

XL

1.

If you do not want to work, then either humiliate yourself, or use violence.

2.

It is necessary for man, like every other animal, to labor, to work with his hands and feet. A man may make others do what he needs done, but nevertheless, he must spend his physical energies on something. If he does not work at something necessary and sensible, he will work at something unnecessary and silly.

3.

Physical labor is especially important in that it prevents the mind from wandering, from thinking of trifles.

4.

Men should be respected, not according to their rank and wealth, but according to the work they do: the more useful this work, the more honorable the men. But it often happens the other way round: idle, rich men are respected, while those who do work that is undoubtedly useful to all, such as husbandmen and laborers, are not respected.

5.

Nothing is so detrimental to the good life as contempt for tasks that are considered unimportant in a worldly sense. Rich people so consider such tasks as personal service, the preparation of their own food, cleaning house, making clothes, and so forth. And yet to the man of sensitive conscience there are no more important tasks than these.

(*To be continued*)

The Study Table

Educational

It would be a good thing for everyone interested in education, whether a teacher or not, to read Mr. Fish's pamphlet, "Examinations Seventy-Five Years Ago and Today."[1] A half-hour's time is sufficient for the reading and the cost of the book is twenty cents. Buy it, read it, and give it to other croakers to read. You and I are prone to compare the good old days with the present—of course to the disadvantage of the latter. Really progressive teachers become tired of hearing our diatribes and here, at last, is one who rises to throw them back into our teeth. He has made some interesting experiments and presents the results. The experiments were two. First: he unearthed some examination papers and records of the results for entrance into a high school in 1853 and gave the same examinations to school children of today. Second: he places the examination questions of 1853 alongside of the questions of an examination of 1928, to see which is more likely to call forth the higher qualities of the students. We will not spoil your reading of the report by quoting results *in extenso,* but we must mention two or three. In 1853 out of the 20 who were examined 18 passed; in 1929 out of 200 tested, without special preparation, on the same questions, every one passed. The candidates of 1853 made an average of 16.2 mistakes; those of 1929 made an average of 8.9 mistakes. In subjects, the record is:

	1853	1929
Arithmetic	5.4	1.6 mistakes
Grammar	6.5	3.1 mistakes
Geography	4.4	4.2 mistakes

And children today do not study grammar, in the same sense in which they studied it in 1853. The examination of 1853 was a memory test; that of 1928 is a test of thought. Read the pamphlet; it is worth while. The child in school today has a much better grip on knowledge than those of seventy-five years ago.

Whatever errors may have been in the beginning, however many unsatisfactory "tests" have been worked off upon the educational public, measurement of intelligence and achievement by means of standardized tests is here to stay. One wonders when the flood of tests and books dealing with them will be stayed in its flow, or at least regulated. Text book houses vie with each other to produce the stream and each seems inclined to back its own writers and to put out its own systems. It is probable that no house has gone into the thing so heavily and thoroughly as Caspar Hodgson's World Book Company. We have a veritable mountain of their tests that has piled up during our recent absence from the country—tests covering a wide range of subjects and representing a variety of viewpoints.[2]

From the same house have come two books dealing with the use of tests, Madsen's "Educational Measurement in the Elementary Schools" is a convenient and practical manual.[3] Intended as a class text in training schools, it will also find large use among individual teachers, who wish to learn how to employ tests, how to select them, how to utilize their results. It has grown out of class-room work. Such books cannot usually be said to be well written or interesting. This one is both. Simple, plain, direct, it wastes no time on side issues but goes straight to its purpose. It shows why measurement is necessary and how it is to be done. Two chapters are devoted to statistical methods; they contain all that is absolutely necessary for the elementary school teacher to know. Chapters are devoted to intelligence tests and to achievement tests. The best known, seasoned, tests of both kinds are named and described in detail. The requirements of a good test are *validity* and *reliability* and the teacher is shown how to determine both for any submitted test. A final chapter on the *uses of tests* show how they are em-

1. **Examinations Seventy-five Years Ago and Today. Louis J. Fish. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1930. World Book Co. 16mo. pp. 29. Price, $0.20.**

2. **Sangren Information Test for Young Children, Presson Biology Test, Chemistry Test (Columbia), Algebra Test (Columbia), Elwell-Fowlkes Book-keeping Test, Standard Graduation Examination, New York Latin Achievement Test, Luria Orleans Modern Language Prognosis Test, Instructional Tests in Chemistry, Sones-Harry High School Achievement Test.**

3. **Educational Measurement in the Elementary Grades. I. N. Madsen. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1930. World Book Co. 16mo. pp. x, 294. Price, $2.00.**

ployed to solve educational problems. A valuable feature of the book is the series of questions and practical exercises given at the end of each chapter. With each chapter also there is a list of references to fuller discussions of the subjects. All in all, the book is unusually satisfactory.

Workers in tests have found especial difficulty in adopting them to the social studies. *Objective tests,* now quite the accepted thing, are not so easily adapted to them as to some other subjects. So far the *essay-response type* of tests has been almost exclusively employed. Considerable discussion has taken place, especially perhaps in regard to history. How shall we examine the class in history? Shall we examine for factual matter, or shall we examine for thoughts and reasoning? The old teaching emphasized dates, events, places. It encouraged memorization; yet the chief value of historical study does not lie in these things but in the philosophy of human behavior. Dr. Michell,[4] believes, however, that the student *must* have a background, and a strong background of facts. Without it, neither thought nor reasoning is possible. She believes that the objective test is the only satisfactory one for this background and that it has possibilities in testing thought and reasoning. Essay-response, direct, brief, to the point, may be used, but the less subjective, the more objective, it is, the better. The major purpose of her book is to stress the *teaching value* of the new-type tests. She makes this fundamental proposition: *"teaching and not measurement is the dominant purpose of examination."* She is not so much interested in using standard tests already published as in preparing her own tests—objective, valid, dependable and directly instructional.

A most conscientious book, representing much care and thought in its preparation, is Miss Porter's "The Teacher in the New School."[5] The author is a teacher of experience, both in the *old* schools and the *new*. She realizes the dangers of the new school and in this book attempts to help teachers to avoid them and to secure the best results. It is a mistake to think that the teacher in the new school should leave children absolutely unguided to their own devices. If the new school is to give worth-while results, the teacher must give even more thought and labor to preparation, must be more active in directing and guiding, than in the old school. Miss Porter makes a careful "study of the teacher's part in organizing material and conducting class work in harmony with the principles of child-centered schools." She presents the actual work of an entire year of a third grade class in the famous Lincoln School. She describes one unit of work in extreme detail, showing how it was conceived, how developed, how it worked out. The other units are not so fully detailed, but are adequately described. The work done on the different units not only gave a fund of information upon the interest developed—it incidentally, but necessarily, gave a training in reading, writing and thought. Creative work and the establishment of standards of taste resulted. Of course, the Lincoln School is an especially favored institution, but Miss Porter insists that the same methods may be followed and the same results produced elsewhere. In a most important chapter she suggests what may be done in a public school, even when no especial encouragement or opportunity is given for a full application of the method. Much can be done, even within the limits of a fixed curriculum to encourage curiosity and stimulate intellectual interest. A word of warning is uttered against developing a fixed curriculum out of successes. The very essence of the system is lost if the teachers attempt to repeat identical units with identical material year after year.

Perhaps zoology has a proper place in high schools and, if it has, it should be a laboratory subject. William Morton Barrows has prepared "a practical student's manual for classes in animal biology."[6] It consists of two parts: I. *Class Exercises* and II. *Student Projects.* Each exercise is developed under the headings object, material, procedure. The range of subjects is adequate and the directions are clear. Live material is especially studied, but directions are given for killing gold fish. It seems that "gold fish are very difficult animals to kill quickly. The best method is to hit the fish on the head with a ruler. Then with the scissors cut the spinal cord directly behind the head." Equally explicit directions are given for "pithing" a frog but we refrain from quoting. It will be strange if students do not rebel against the over-simplicity of statement throughout. Of course the many technical terms give an air of erudition to the text but on the whole the style is almost childish, better adapted to Miss Porter's eight year olds than to high school students.

Some time ago we called attention to Mr. Lockridge's story of George Rogers Clark. We now welcome his biography of "A. Lincoln,"[7] intended as a supplementary reader for pupils of Junior High School grade who are studying American History. Biography has quite changed character within the last few years. It has drifted far from the old type of hero-worship books—the more's the pity. But Lockridge's book is old fashioned in its hearty and outspoken admiration of the great man whose story is told; it is at the same time quite up-to-date in its use of "the human elements that made him what he was." To a remarkable degree the book is made up of Lincoln's own material. "His letters, speeches, miscellaneous writings and official documents make up an almost perfect autobiography." All have been used, as have also many of the stories which Lincoln was so fond of telling and which added much to his force and influence. The book is a labor of love and will well serve its purpose. Not only boys and girls in school, but grown-ups in the outside world, will gain from this little book a clearer appreciation of the great President, whose fame grows with the years.

FREDERICK STARR.

Saint's Progress

Readers of UNITY will be interested in Doctor E. Boyd Barrett's recent autobiography.* All liberals who believe so profoundly in the Religion of Democracy need to have sympathetic understanding of those

4. **Teaching Values in New-Type History Tests.** Elene Mitchell. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1930. World Book Co. 16mo. pp. ix, 179. Price, $1.80.

5. **The Teacher in the New School.** Martha Peck Porter. Yonkers-on-Hudson. 1930. World Book Co. 16mo. pp. xi, 312. Price, $2.00.

6. **Laboratory Exercises in Zoology.** William Morton Barrows. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1930. World Book Co. 16mo. pp. vi, 101. Price, $0.48.

7. **A. Lincoln.** Ross F. Lockridge. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1930. World Book Co. 16mo. pp. xiv, 320. Price, $1.20.

*"The Magnificent Illusion," by E. Boyd Barrett, published by Ives Washburn, New York.

who grow up in the most conservative religous traditions, and yet fight their way out into an adjustment to reality that is denied them by their inherited creed. "The Magnificent Illusion" is just such a book. With clear deft touches like the artist he is, the author paints a picture of an ideal Catholic home in Ireland with a sweet young widowed mother, who believed everyone was as trustworthy as she was trusting. Still shielded throughout school days and turned toward the Jesuit Order as the ideal for any son of his Church, the real fire within him smouldered until a chance meeting with H. Crichton Miller caused it to blaze in its ardor for psychoanalysis. Knowing how much he could now help his brother priests and members of religious orders, he held a vision of the new science wonderfully aiding religion's best for human good. Authorities in his church decreed otherwise. There was much kindliness toward him on the part of individuals. The system as a whole knew not how to be kind.

Finally in an attempt to best care for this thorn in their ecclesiastical side both for his own and the Church's good, as they supposed, he was sent to America. Imagine his surprise when lecturing on psychology at Fordham to be informed that he must not mention sex. As easy as pulling the moon to earth for a psychologist to ignore one of life's two great physical and psychological drives. Then there ensued —well, the reader must peruse the book to know what happened on that hectic night in Greenwich village, and how a shattered life was rebuilt upon the liberal lines, so congenial to UNITY and its subscribers. The last chapter, My Credo, enrolls the author among the world's living seers.

GEORGE MAYCHIN STOCKDALE.

Correspondence

The Gospel of Our New Age

Editor of UNITY:

On this New Year's Day I wish to pay loving tribute to Jesse H. Holmes for his recent editorial on "Reason and Religion."

Certain affirmations made in this editorial cannot be too frequently or too emphatically reiterated:

"All mere dependence on authority is dangerous."

"No one knows what Jesus meant or even what he said."

The function of Jesus and other great teachers "is to stimulate the more abundant life, not to show a pattern to be followed or to make statements which shall be used as creeds.

"With courage and enthusiasm we must trust our noblest and clearest-thinking selves."

As to life's highest values "the world over men agree as to what they are and differ only on methods of attaining them; presently, however, coming to lay all emphasis on their own method, even to forgetting the end striven for."

"That element of our mysterious inner life which constantly tends toward the good is what we mean by God."

"To be 'spiritual' in any vital fashion is to live vividly and vigorously in the task of bringing good order into our often irrational and chaotic world."

Seldom have I found words that more forcibly appeal to my understanding or that express more clearly my own feeling and thought.

Human life is potentially so glorious that absolutely nothing should be allowed to hinder man's growing realization of its beauty and truth. Life of itself, by itself and for itself—the life of the world, human life—should be our chiefest enthusiasm and the supreme object of our reverent devotion. The building up of the manhood of mankind is distinctly our creative spiritual business—the art for which all other arts exist. There is no nobler or more abundant source of inspiration nor any thought or desire that can lend more dignity to our daily life. Enthusiasm of man for man—greater love or wisdom hath no man than this. There is no possible thought more ennobling than that *each soul owes all he is or can become to the world of which he is a part.*

This is our message to our fellowmen: We belong, not to ourselves, but to one another. When we live in the light of this truth we shall attain spiritual understanding. Love's way is the way of life—the way of wisdom, the way of creative power. We need no other revelation—no other God.

Truly, the more we give ourselves to man the nearer we will come to God. Not *a* God, but the God who is the all in all, the spirit of the universe, the divine being who is the unity of all being. Beyond self is God—not beyond the stars, not beyond the grave, not beyond understanding; but simply *beyond self.* When our mind and heart are emptied of self God will fill us. The "pure in heart" are those who are cleansed of false desire, cleansed of selfishness. And it is the pure in heart that see God; that see the divine unity that is to be realized in all human relations.

And this is the gospel of our new age—our gospel, the man-to-man gospel. And it needs no theologian to tell us what it means. It needs no "Holy Bible." It needs no specially ordained spokesmen. It needs no sacred, set-apart sanctuary. It needs no public parade of worship. It needs no religion. It needs only that we take into our heart, into our every thought and into our very life the simple consciousness that we belong to humanity and that humanity belongs to us. It needs only that we live the life in which there is the abiding sense of unity, of universal love. It needs only that we be drawn away from self and into a divine relationship one with another and each with all.

It is so absurdly easy for people to "get religion" and to be pious by rule and rote; but it takes courage, concentration, consecration, actual labor and all the wisdom we are capable of to live a genuinely spiritual life.

Splendidly expressed is the statement of Jesse H. Holmes: "To be 'spiritual' in any vital fashion is to live vividly and vigorously in the task of bringing good order into our often irrational and chaotic world."

Shall we not take it to heart?

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

Crawford, Colorado.

The Field

(*Continued from Page* 306)

the monthly periodical against the efforts of independents to function on lines of social protest and unsubsidized information. England has had serious experience with the control of news service by a few individuals of great wealth, spokesmen more or less directly for vested interests and socially biased points of view, but nowhere is such domination of publicity so ascendant as in the United States, and nowhere are its instrumentalities so varied, so widely distributed, and so ably used to direct and misdirect the public mind.

It is claimed, with much show of reason, that there is no way out of this situation except on lines of drastic economic change which change is forestalled as to peaceful accomplishment through the very condition which it is sought to challenge.

Whether this be so or not the effort toward improvement cannot wait upon revolution. Nor can revolution be justified until every practicable endeavor toward improvement has been made. There are revolutions which come in quiet and inconspicuous ways. It is the business of every one to seek change as far as possible on lines of rational and moral appeal, however realistically the limitations of such appeal may be viewed.

The key man in the American pub-

licity situation is the advertiser. As to the newspapers, for instance, the outstanding mediums of public appeal, the individual reader contributes far less toward their support than does the average advertiser of merchandise, and the aggregate of subscription receipts falls far below the aggregate of the advertising income. In many instances the sums received from subscriptions do little more than to take care of the costs of delivery, and the incidentals of running the papers off the press.

On the other hand the advertiser is himself dependent upon the reader of the paper, and the general public to which he appeals through the press, in a measure which can be reasonably compared to the newspapers' dependence upon him. The reader spends very little on his newspaper compared with what he spends upon merchandise advertised in the newspapers. The newspapers can spare the nickel a day or less which he spends to buy his favorite news-sheet much easier than the advertiser can spare his patronage at the counter.

The logic of this is obvious, though it has been curiously over-looked in our apparent helplessness to effect any modification of indecent, unintelligent, or unfair publicity through the daily press. Appeal, to be made effective, must be concentrated at the point of power. The point of power with the press is the advertiser. The point of power with the advertiser is the customer. Therefore the reader who is always more of a customer for merchandise than he is a customer of the printed page, ought to exercise his power at the point where it is most potent, and should seek the immediate cooperation of the advertiser whom he patronizes for the improvement of the periodicals which he reads, the movie pictures which he sees, and the radio service to which he lends his ears, as also the platform service, in a certain degree.

The word cooperation, as it is used above, is to be particularly emphasized. Anything that savors of intimidation is to be scrupulously avoided, as undesirable in itself and as tending to defeat rather than promote the end in view. The sensible merchant desires most emphatically, both for personal reasons and for the profit which he has in view, good-will between himself and his customer. The newspaper publisher, for the same reasons prefers good-will between himself and his advertiser. It is in the atmosphere of good-will that the most effective work can be done. In general editors would be glad to see the publicity in which they deal carried out on higher levels. So would the advertisers. A corrupted society is to the advantage of no one. Most assuredly it is not to the advantage of business to have crime played up, scandal-mongering glorified, and social improvement on peaceful lines made difficult. An appeal to the more responsible advertisers through thousands of their customers, individually and collectively, to use their influence with the publishers and managers of publicity for cleanliness, fairness, and intelligence would not be in vain. Every such individual appeal will have power, in however small a stream the river of protest begins, and will have the more power the more thoughtfully and kindly it is made. "One shall chase a thousand, and two shall put ten thousand to flight," in the case of the offending bill-board, the vicious movie, the vulgar radio program, or the yellow journal, when the "one" and the "two" begin to function at the point of their most immediate effectiveness, their contact with the men and women from whom they purchase their goods.

Nor should this appeal to the advertisers be altogether on negative and immediately corrective lines. There is need to emphasize with advertisers the consideration of "quality advertising" as against mere "quantity advertising." Circulation is not everything in estimating the value of advertising, and it will be less than it is today when readers of the best journals and patrons of the best entertainments begin to stress advertising through the mediums which they prefer. One advertisement read is worth a hundred thrown away unread. Advertisers should be advised to place more of their advertising with the journals which are worth reading from end to end. Those papers working for the public benefit ought to be searched for the advertisers who are supporting them, and these should be made to know that their choice of such advertising medium is appreciated.

To the end of promoting the objects and the program here set forth a Committee of Publicists has been tentatively organized, to function as a clearing house for cooperation on these lines. The committee seeks neither personal profit nor publicity for its members. Headquarters have been volunteered, and a secretary has been secured who will accept a very modest remuneration, and who is himself a man of long and self-sacrificing service in social reform. You can aid in the extension of this movement in the following ways:

First, by enrolling your name with us as a Responsible Reader, who is interested in the improvement of publicity by cooperative effort between readers, advertisers, and editors.

Second, by contributing for the support of such work in any amount you can afford from a postage stamp to a check. Acknowledgment will be made of all contributions received, an open account will be kept of receipts and expenditures, and every one who cooperates in this work will be kept advised as to how funds are used, and what lines of work are being pursued.

Third, by way of suggestions and information which may be of use to us in carrying on the work more successfully. For the present we have the following order of procedure in mind. Our secretary will himself conduct a campaign of publicity, with whatever aid the committee can give him, both on the platform and through the press, as to the urgency, the practicability, and the procedure of the service. Funds received in excess of the small budget required to cover the secretary's support, the purchase of stationary, stamps, etc., will be used in placing advertising in preferred journals, and in putting solicitors in the field to secure subscribers and advertising for such journals from others who may be interested in cooperating with us. Whoever subscribes to periodicals which are devoted to the ends of decent journalism, or advertises therein, will be aiding this work, whether in correspondence with us or not. We seek no monopoly in conducting this campaign, or directing the lines of its development, but most cordially invite any manner of effective effort which will work to the public benefit.

Communications may be addressed to me personally, at La Crescenta, California, or preferably to the Preferred Publicity League, Carlson Apartments, 229 North Boylston street, Los Angeles, California. Checks should be made out to the Preferred Publicity League, and sent to the Los Angeles address. The consonants in the word "People" are P. P. L. which are the initials of the Preferred Publicity League, and may be used for brevity in referring to our organization.

This is the first public announcement of the project, and is given through the columns of UNITY as indicating the character of the journalism which we hope to promote and bring to the due attention of the American people. It remains only to be added to this opening announcement that there is nothing either of a partisan or sectarian character in the movement, no desire to carry on any doctrinaire censorship or championship, and commercial entanglements will be carefully avoided. We believe the work will justify itself, and we invite your cooperation in it because of this confidence, and an entire willingness upon our part to be guided by the public interest.

ROBERT WHITAKER

La Crescenta, California

Two modern little girls, on their way home from Sunday school, were solemnly discussing the lesson.

"Do you believe there is a devil?" asked one.

"No," said the other promptly. "It's like Santa Claus; it's your father."—*Nebelspalter (Zurich)*.

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